THE THOUGHTS OF AN *Honest Man*,

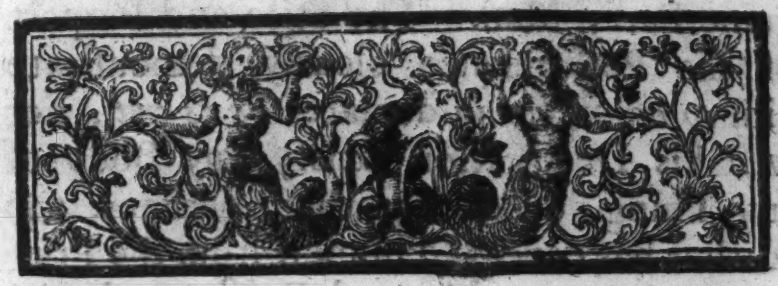
CONTAINING

The Review of the THOUGHTS of an *Impartial Man* upon the present Temper of the Nation;

ALSO (but humbly) OFFERED

To the Consideration of the *Freeholders* of GREAT BRITAIN.

EDINBURGH,
Printed in the Year MDCCXXXIV.



THE THOUGHTS OF AN HONEST MAN, &c.

THAT this is the Child of a moſt impartial Perſon, he that runs it muſt read and obſerve. For this you have the Author's Word, whether an old *Gentlewoman*, or really a Man, is a diſputable Matter; tho, for avoiding needleſs Diſputes, he ſhall be ſuppoſed to be *ſomething* like a Man. It is, however, very plain, that the Author has not been able to preſerve the Character he aſſumes; and that, at

first

first View, he appears to be a most sanguine Party-Man. The Stile and Purport of his Performance clearly demonstrate him *to be*, what he declares *he is not*; nor will his Declaration satisfy any Body of any Thing, other than that, perhaps, the Author has conceal'd himself from the Printer, which he had good Cause to do, as indeed from the whole World, for obvious Reasons. It may be a good Motive why he should be a Friend to the Government, *because it protects him*, but that is a little too selfish, and a better Reason may be, and is assign'd below. It may be reasonable for him to love the *present* Constitution, because there may be *weighty* Reasons that make it the *best for him*; and he may profess, that he *shall love* his *Country, while it understands its Happiness, and will be content to enjoy it.* But as the whole of his Argument tends directly to overturn our present Plan of Government, I mean, as established at the happy Revolution, and the Constitution depending upon it, it is extremely plain, that he has not, at this Time, the least Affection for his Country; because he affirms, that the Country is in such a Ferment, *that it does not now understand its own Happiness, nor is content to enjoy it*; and he promises only, that

that he ſhall love it *while it ſo under-ſtands it, and will be content to enjoy it*; all in the future Tenſe. Poor Country! I lament thy Fate, that haſt not this profound Logician for thy *preſent* Friend; and that, if thou wilt, thou muſt purchaſe his Friendſhip at ſo dear a Rate, as giving up all that thou ever haſt contended for.

For theſe ſuccinct Reaſons, I am of Onion, that the Author is a poor hired Writer; That he is a Wolf in Sheeps Skins, and has aſſum'd the Title of an *impartial Man* the better to deceive. Poor Contrivance! But what demonſtratively ſerves to detect the Impoſture, is an ugly Circumſtance, that could attend the Production of no other Sort of Writer, *to wit*, that this moſt worthy Performance has had a Countenance ſhewn it, that clearly proves the Fountain from which it is derived; it came franked to this Country; and has been delivered out *gratis* to Coffee-houſes, *&c.* attended with another Paper of the ſame Kind, fram'd for being batter'd up, as a Syſtem of political Principles, fit to be got by Heart by all thoſe who have nothing leſs than the Love and Good of their Country in their Heads.

It is, perhaps, doing a great deal too much Honour to a Scribler of this Kind, to enter into a ſerious Diſſertation to refute the Principles upon which he founds his moſt *partial* Performance; we ſhall attempt, however, to anſwer it, mixing *ſeria jocis*.

The Gentleman ſeems to be a Diſciple of *Hobbs*, whoſe Doctrine never was yet thought ſufficient to account for the ſocial Nature of Man, nor for his entring into Society; and yet leſs can it be brought to account for the Nature of Government in general, and far leſs for ours in particular. *Homo homini lupus*, was a favorite Principle of Mr. *Hobbs*, and this Gentleman ſtrains hard to perſwade us, that this Principle ought to be received as the Foundation of Government. Noble Undertaking! and vaſtly ſuited to a *Britiſh* Conſtitution, and a moſt ſolid Foundation for the Maintenance of the Rights and Liberties inſiſted upon and ſecured to *Scotland* by her Claim of Right, and to *England* by her Bill of Rights.

One Thing, however, may be plain enough, that the Gentleman's Principles and Argument are undeniably good againſt himſelf, and that therefore, unleſs the Flock he talks to, even after they have dis-

discovered him to be a rank Wolf, dreſt up in Sheeps Skins, have a plain Intention to be deceived, they ought to beware of his poiſonous Principles and Arguments, which ſhall now be review'd.

But to avoid all Miſtakes, in the Entry let it be cautioned, that nothing that ſhall be ſaid is intended to be underſtood in the leaſt to touch, or at all to affect his Majeſty. It is a Principle, The King does no Wrong; and therefore, if, in the Sequel, any Thing ſhall be ſaid which may bear hard upon Meaſures that have been followed, let it be remember'd, nothing is aim'd at Majeſty, but only at the Projector, or Conductor, or Abettor of them. And no more needs be ſaid upon this Subject, than that it is a Piece of unskilful Impudence in this Gentleman, who pretends to be a great Friend of our *Conſtitution*, to attempt to ſtate the preſent Oppoſition, as between his Majeſty *perſonally*, and the Country Party. Barbarous Suggeſtion! ſuch indeed as no Body, this old Gentlewoman excepted, has ventured upon. Should evil Counſellors be removed from about the Throne, the Minds of all Opponents would quickly be brought to be quite ſerene; and his Majeſty would find no Men more deſirous, as indeed none are more

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able, to ſupport his and the Country's Cauſe, which they, and every Man, (ſuch Blunderers as our Author excepted) have ever lookt upon as connected, and indeed inſeparable.

Our Author, willing to begin with ſomething that cannot be denied, ſays, *Society cannot ſubſiſt without Government.* But, as his Aim is to miſlead, this perhaps is the only Principle he mentions to which any impartial Man can agree. If it is objected, Should it not alſo be agreed to what he immediately adds, *nor Government, where the People are not of a governable Temper?* It is anſwered,—If the Word *governable* were uſed by this *Scribler*, in the ſame Senſe in which any *impartial* Man would take it, it ſhould; but if he uſes it here in a right Senſe, in order, by a very ill conducted *Sorites*, to lead us to a moſt abuſive and corrupt Meaning of it, it ſhould only be agreed to, according to the obvious, plain and honeſt Meaning of the Word, and not the abuſive and corrupt Senſe of it; and if no more was meant, than the plain honeſt Senſe of it, there was no Need of mentioning a *governable Temper* in his Argument, it being moſt certain, that the *Britiſh* Nation have ever ſhewn a very great Affection, and even Attachment, to their

their former Princes, even when they had, as to ſome of them, very little Reaſon.

But the favorite Principle the Gentleman has a mind to eſtabliſh, is, *Fear*, tho ſometimes he is graciouſly pleaſed to add to that, *ſome Degree of Knowledge*; tho of this he ſeems to think no more is neceſſary than to work our Fear, and our ſelves by it, into *being governable*; which he, by moſt profound undeniable Conſequences, explains to infer yet more than *Paſſive Obedience* and *Non-reſiſtance*, as we ſhall ſee by and by. —— Says he, *There is no governing Men void of Fear*. That may be true, for many Reaſons. *Firſt*, Becauſe there is no Man at all void (of ſome Degree at leaſt) of Fear; and therefore, till a Set of Men void of Fear are created, there is indeed no governing them. *2dly*. If a Nation of Men void of Fear could be figured, they muſt be ſuppoſed to have Underſtanding or Knowledge; and here is the Difficulty, How are Men of Knowledge and Men of Underſtanding to be governed, eſpecially if they are void of unreaſonable Fear? That indeed would be a terrible Task. For, if they cannot be convinced by Dint of Argument, then one has not that *feminine* Weakneſs of Fear

to ply them into Obedience by; and therefore, if they are in the Right, when a Projector that would govern them is in the Wrong, it is possible they may not be *governable* at the Expence of giving up their *Consciences*, and *Understandings*, and *Knowledge*, which perhaps no Man of Integrity will do, especially to the Prejudice of his Country: And I think it is plain enough, that it would not be worth any Body's While, who has any dirty Work to do, to guide a Parcel of such honest, sensible, obstinate Fellows. That indeed would be but a *poor Jobb*. I am surprised our Author has not given us a Hint, since he might have had Access probably to know it, how such Men may be managed, if any Thing would do with them.

But this is no Part of his present Scheme; for, says he, *The more Sense and Courage Men have, the more insolent they will be*. This is plain enough Language, and irresistible Reasoning! — No doubt this is Part of the present System; and tho I scarce think any Man will say, that, if this Position of this deep Politician is true, it will follow, That the *less* Sense, Understanding and Courage Men have, *the more governable they will be*, and that consequently, to be *thoroughly governable*,

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Men ſhould be a Collection of *Fools* and *Cowards*: Yet I am apprehenſive, that the Argument in this Paper (which has but too much Countenance) goes this far; which therefore, for the Honour of this Gentleman's Employer, and for Fear of provoking a People *who have both Senſe and Courage*, I think, ſhould be paſt over with as little Obſervation as poſſible, tho, if I were to offer my humble Opinion, I would adviſe him rather to employ ſome Body elſe to deal with a People that do not love to be ill uſed.

Our Author proceeds. *Again, Fear, without Knowledge, puts Men upon avoiding the Danger dreaded, without conſidering what will become of them afterwards.* —— It is indeed ſurpriſing, that Men without Knowledge ſhould not conſider. Thou art a Conjurer, dear impartial Man! But then, when Men are without Knowledge, how can Fear work the Miracle of putting them upon avoiding the Danger dreaded? —— This muſt, 'tis ſuppoſed, happen by Inſtinct, by which other Animals, that are without Knowledge, and have (at leaſt ſhew the Symptoms of) Fear, evite a Danger dreaded. Profound Reaſoner! —— *Men therefore muſt both fear and underſtand.* I propoſe to

to amend this Paſſage thus, *Men therefore muſt both fear and tremble.* This is, to the meaneſt Capacity, a more natural Reading. Every Body knows Fear and Trembling go together: But Fear is commonly an Enemy to Underſtanding. And, with Submiſſion, I do ſay, this is doing no Violence to the Author's Meaning; for, if Men are once brought to *fear and tremble*, the awful Command of the worſt Man in Power muſt make them *exceeding governable.* —— Then Men will take Care not only to ſubmit, by doing of which *they may be of no Uſe to him they ſubmit to*, but they will be *truly governable*; for Submiſſion is but a bare inactive Principle, a Sort of Non-repugnancy: But when they are brought to fear and underſtand, that is, when they fear and tremble, the firſt Evidence they will give of Underſtanding, will be, to ſhew *their Endeavours to pleaſe, and a Willingneſs to exert themſelves in Behalf of the Perſon that governs.* And who can be ſo wilful, or ſo ſtupid, as to imagine, that ſuch Endeavours to pleaſe, and Willingneſs to exert our ſelves, muſt not now tend evidently to our unſpeakable Advantage?

The learned Gentlewoman, who favours the Publick with this Piece, *to bring*

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this Reasoning Home, (which perhaps had better never come abroad) says, *we know it was Fear of Popery, and arbitrary Power, that brought about the Revolution.* Let us see how this will apply.——Was there no Sense, no Understanding in bringing about the Revolution? He will not say so. Did we therefore, then, both fear and understand? No, that's impossible too. If that had been our unlucky Case, we must have been not only *submissive*, but *governable*, and that we might not be quite *useless to the Person we submitted to, we must have used our Endeavours to please, and shew'd a Willingness to exert ourselves in Behalf of the Person that governed, that we might have enabled our Governor* (King *James*, to wit) *to support what was necessary for the general Protection and Defence.* Of what?——Of Popery and Slavery, I am afraid. Thus this learned Argument most fairly concludes, and without the least Torture. What Regard should be paid to a Pamphlet of this Kind, stampt with the Authority of a Man who wants to support his Power by Arguments of this Sort, every Body will for himself judge. If we *fear and understand*, as this Scribler would have us, we shall go as directly on in the straight Way to Slavery, as King *James* projected, or his Employer

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can lead us.—— But it may be ſaid, That is what no Man of Revolution Principles can poſſibly have any Intention to do. I do moſt heartily agree, that ſuch arguing is directly contrary to Revolution, and all Principles; and therefore I am not a little ſurprized, to find a Man, under very great Countenance, arguing in ſuch a Manner. Principles cannot alter, nor the Nature of Things. Now, if, when this moſt profound Philoſopher's Reaſoning is brought to its *own Home*, it proves, that, inſtead of bringing about the Revolution, it muſt have ſaddled us both with *Popery* and *Slavery*, what Opinion can we entertain of ſuch proſtitute Principles, and ſuch profligate Deductions from them, but that *ſome Body* has a Mind, at leaſt, to ſubtilize us out of our Liberty? and who this may be, I leave every Body to gueſs. I hope, after the Caution I have uſed, no Man can poſſibly think, I mean what I abhor to think, much more to name. And I muſt here take Occaſion to ſay, that it is moſt monſtrous for any Man, to hallow his own, or any other Man's moſt unhallow'd Projects, with a Name too great to be uſed for ſuch Purpoſes; and yet this is the known and avow'd Practice of a Gentleman, and of his Friends, who no ſoon-

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er find any *Project* or Contrivance of their own, *any Jobb*, turn too hot for their handling, but they, without any Sort of Ceremony, nay, ſometimes, even contrary to moſt plain and open Declarations made while Succeſs was hoped for, roll over all the Diſgrace, all the Odium of the Miſgiving of ſuch *Jobb*, *Project*, or Contrivance, upon his Majeſty.——Intollerable Impudence! and unſufferable Injuſtice! Barbarous Suggeſtion!—— This is what of all Injuries, both to him and to his People, is the greateſt, ſeeing thereby they plainly ſow Sedition, and moſt wickedly endeavour to create Jealouſies and Diviſions between them, to the Deſtruction of the Intereſt, the inſeparable Intereſt of both. And now I ſhall conclude this Point, *Firſt*, By asking Pardon for deviating from my Plan, ſo far as to have, by the Importance of the Subject, been brought rather to be too ſerious. *2dly*. By obſerving again, That the Whole of the Author's Argument concludes againſt himſelf; and allowing *it were wicked, in ſome Members of the Society, to remove Fear and Underſtanding out of the Minds of their Fellow-Subjects*, (which, by the by, no Man has attempted, and is purely impoſſible to be effectuated) it is moſt wick-

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ed, by any Argument, to endeavour to perſwade People into a Temper *ſo ſubmiſſive*, and, which is more, *ſo governable*, as to extinguiſh in them the leaſt Spark of Liberty.—— 3*dly*. I ſhould be vaſtly ſorry, that our Obedience ſhould be founded upon ſo ſlaviſh a Principle as *Fear*, even with Underſtanding, which could put it upon no better Foundation, than the Faith of Devils, who *believe and tremble*, or the Adoration of the *Indians*, who have natural Underſtanding and Fear, and therefore *worſhip the Devil*. 4*thly*. It ſeldom happens, (as indeed the Author himſelf ſays, in Effect) that Fear, eſpecially without Underſtanding, puts Men upon the ſafeſt Ways of avoiding the dreaded Danger. If therefore we ſhall conſider, that every Thing dreaded, is vaſtly increaſed and magnified by *Fear*, even in Spite of all our Underſtanding; if we ſhall conſider, that this is frequently quite undone by that, and how apt we are to catch at any Hold, any Thing to remove a *Fear* that preſſes us ſorely, will it remove the Cauſe of our Fears? Does any Man think to preſs the Duty of Fear upon our Underſtandings, as the Method to rid us of it?——This is ſurely moſt execrable Reaſoning.

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And this leads me to notice the poor silly Use made of this Argument, or this Scribler's Inference from his false Doctrine, *That if there are any who labour, by their Discourses or Writings, to remove our Fears of the* Pretender's *Return, or to make us think, we can enjoy our civil and religious Rights, under a Popish Prince, or who spread Disaffection in the Minds of the People, thereby to make us misapprehend our Happiness, and think we are neglected, or ill used by our Prince; who are they but must think, they are not only bad Subjects, but have it in their Design to overthrow the Government, and either to change it into a Common-wealth, or to put it under some other Person,* &c.

Who are they that labour, by their Discourses or Writings, to remove our Fears of the *Pretender*'s Return, or to imagine we can enjoy our religious and civil Rights under a Popish Prince? *Not those engaged in the Opposition* to a certain Gentleman's Measures; *they know* our Constitution, *they love it*, they are speaking, they are writing *for it*; and this, every Body who knows them must and does admit. They know, that, by the *Magna Charta* of the Revolution, a Papist cannot rule over us; he is disabled by

Law: But they know also, *that Liberties and Privileges were then insisted upon, secured and established as the Basis of that Settlement*, which it is, according to this Scribler's own Argument, lawful for them to contend for: For, says he, *I allow of Self-Defence in publick Matters, as well as private Cases; no doubt there is a Remedy where there is a Right, and Subjects under a mixt Monarchy* (he should have said *limited*, but he avoids that Word) *have Rights, the Invasion of which they may repel by the best Means in their Power.*——

But, in the *first* Place, how will this tally with the Author's favorite Principle of being *governable?* Can a People, to whom *it is not enough that they barely submit*, and who *must also be governable*, pretend to use Self-Defence in any publick Matter. Can they *repel*, (which is a strong Word by the by) can they repel Invasions of their Rights, by the best Means they have in their Power, —— and yet be governable in the Author's Sense?——That is impossible. The Force of Truth is *so irresistible*, that Men, who write to undermine it, frequently fall into Contradictions, of which our Author (in other Things most *partial*,

tial) is here an *impartial* Evidence. 2*dly*. Does this *impartial* Author, recommend to us the *proper Remedy?* will daſtardly and abject *Fear* direct us to it? Surely not. What are theſe in the Oppoſition labouring to do, but to ſave their Liberties from being trampled upon by ſome of their Fellow-Subjects? and muſt they either ſuffer themſelves to be *lorded over* by one *not their Equal in many Reſpects*, or be deem'd *Republican Jacobites*, or *Republicans?*——Muſt they yield to *any Meaſure* that comes from a *bad Projector*, or forfeit all Suppoſition of their loving their Prince, the Conſtitution, and the Country? *Barbarous, unnatural, falſe Suggeſtions!* and what no Authority can make Men believe, that know, in any Degree, Men or Things. And yet this muſt be believed, or all our Author's Labour is quite loſt.

WERE our Liberties violated, it would be, in one Reſpect, no Matter who violated them. They are too precious to us, to conſider from what Quarter the Violation comes. But ſince the ſame valuable Law, that reſcued us from Popery and Slavery, and is the Baſis of the Proteſtant Succeſſion, has ſecured them to us, we may, at any Time, aſſuredly know, that the

Violiation does not, cannot come from the Sovereign, Would it not be infinitely worſe, and more unpardonable, ſuch a Violation ſhould come from *another* ? —— In ſuch a Caſe, one might reaſonably ſay, Who has made *him* a Ruler over us, to violate our Liberties ? Has our Sovereign ? —— By no Means.—— Are we then tamely to receive Laws from *that Other's* Hands ? and is any Oppoſition to moſt noxious Schemes of his, to be branded with the moſt odious Characters, which he, and ſuch little Agents of his, can maliciouſly invent ? This is indeed ſtrange. Is there but one Man who underſtands our Intereſt ? This would be ſad.——

But what would it ſignify to us, if we ſhould loſe our Liberties by corrupting a *great many Men* by our own Money ? Would we be the happier Slaves for that ?——Still the more miſerable. Or will any one who has bought our Liberty with our own Money, employ it to ranſom us, thinks any Body ? —— Oh no! we muſt then indeed *fear and tremble* ; and neither Army, nor any other *neceſſary Implement*, will be wanting for that bleſſed End.

It is true the Author ſays, *It is unlikely, that, while the Form of our Conſtitution*

tion remains intire, our Liberties should be lost. The *Form* of our Constitution indeed is excellent and entire: But alas! let us look to the *Substance* of it?——Will a *Form* of Godliness save a Sinner, if he denies the *Power* of it?——No. The Apostle speaks with great Contempt of such Men.——But will the *Form* of our Constitution, without the *Power* of it, do *more* with respect to our Liberties? To be sure it cannot: And he must be vastly ignorant of our certain Matters, and incapable to discern the Scope of this poor Scribler's Argument, that does not perceive, that, if the *Substance* of our Constitution should be destroy'd, which is indeed the Purport of his ill founded, and ill conducted Reasoning, the *Form* can signify nothing.

It is also true what the Author says, *that the Parliament is Judge of the Infringement of our Liberties.* But it is possible the Projector hopes to bring the giving up our Liberties about, even in a Parliamentary Way. The Senate of *Rome* was, no Doubt, while it remained uncorrupted, the Guardians of the Liberties and Privileges of the People; but as ambitious Men, from Time to Time, got it, and oppreſt the People, they made, at different

Times,

Times, noble Stands for their Liberties: But at length *Corruption wholly seized the Senate*, and no single Man ever was more lavish in abject Flattery, to the worst of Tyrants, than the Senate, which fully resign'd every Thing that could be called Liberty into their Hands. This cannot be applied to our present State; but, from this Example in History, we may at least see a Possibility, *that, under the* Form *of our Constitution, Designs may have been carrying on to enslave us.* Not *Cæsar*, nor even *Tiberius*, shewed the least Appetite of suppressing the Senate; for when it was entirely corrupted, they had the Weight and Power of the Senate joined to their own, to bring about their Projects, tho, unluckily for one of them, he died even by the Hands of those who had most abjectly served him. While therefore our Parliament remains upon its ancient Footing, no doubt our Liberties are safe in their Hands, and we are infinitely obliged to the present Parliament, for shewing a Disregard to the Excise-Scheme, by which a Project was laid to undermine all our Liberties, even *under the Form of our Constitution*; if it had not done so, then it had been to us, what the Senate was to *Cæsar*.

It is true, this *impartial Man* forgets himſelf, and, arguing (as well as he can) for this pernicious Scheme, tells us, *The Bill never came ſo far as to be committed, ſo that no Man can ſay how good it might turn out, for, in a Committee, Bills undergo many Alterations and Amendments.* But, at leaſt, this proves that the Bill, as projected, was extremely bad; for if it was a good one, it needed neither Alterations nor Amendments; and if it was but once read, and not committed, this *impartial Man* ſhould have remembred that the ſecond Reading was put off by the Projector *in a very extraordinary Manner.* He has indeed the Modeſty to affirm, *That if it had been expedient to have the Queſtion put, it is not to be doubted, but that the Bill muſt have been committed; for what reaſonable Man could refuſe to follow the Method of Parliament, in conſidering the Matters brought before them?* But to this the Anſwer is ſhort and eaſy: It was not expedient to put the Queſtion, becauſe the Projector doubted greatly of the Succeſs; and in Fact there is all the Juſtice in the World to believe he had Reaſon to doubt of it, otherwiſe the Queſtion had been put. The only Man then that was ſo unreaſonable as to refuſe,

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at leaſt to prevent, the true Method of Parliament, in conſidering Matters brought before them, was the Projector himſelf: But it is to be feared this was more for his own Sake than the Nation's; for as yet not the leaſt Apology has been offered, by him nor his Friends, for bringing in the Bill as it ſtood, ſo much againſt the univerſal Liking of the Nation. And tho it may be true, that plauſible Pretexts, ſuch as, *the Eaſe of the Land, and the Correction of Fraud*, were uſed to make it palatable, it was eaſy to diſcover the Snake in the Graſs, and that theſe were no more than a Bit of Sugar, to prevail upon the Parliament (as ſo many Children) to ſwallow the bitter Pill.

The Author ſays, *It cannot be denied, but that Exciſes might be put under ſuch proper Methods and Reſtrictions, as to make them very conſiſtent with the Subjects Liberties.* For Argument's Sake, this may be admitted. But, *Firſt*, It muſt alſo be admitted, that the Preſumption certainly is, from the Event, that this favorite Bill was not put under ſuch *proper Methods and Reſtrictions*, and therefore was moſt juſtly complain'd of. 2*dly*. It is a ſtrong Argument, that, in the Nature of Exciſes, there is ſomewhat very dangerous

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to Liberty, when the Advocate for them are forced to confess, that they need *to be put under such Methods and Restrictions, as to make them consistent with Liberty.* —— Poison is a certain Enemy to Life, but it may be put under such Methods and Restrictions, in the Way of prescribing it, that will remove all Hazard of taking it: But then, by the Power of Antidotes, it ceases to be Poison: But it would seem rash to administer Poison to the Body Politick, on Pretence, that the skilful Dispenser could easily contrive an Antidote by which it would do no Hurt.—— Let us beware of such a Physician; *let him try his Skill upon himself*, if he pleases; but for us, we ought to take no Prescription from a Hand so dangerous. But to follow the Analogy of the Simile, all the Argument comes to this, That if such Methods and Restrictions had been contriv'd, as would have made the Scheme consistent with Liberty, then the Excise had been no Excise; and so the Parliament thought, and judged the only proper Antidote was, *not to enact it.*

That the Body of Men who contributed to carry through this Bill, *are the known Supporters of our King*, may be very true. I shall not stumble into the

Author's Fault, in branding them, or any of them, with any odious Character. —— But give me Leave to ſay, the Queſtion was not at all, in this Matter, to ſupport the King. —— It was to ſupport the Projector of the Scheme that they concurred in it, and ſome of them againſt their own declared Opinions. For my Part, I can, with the greateſt Eaſe, ſeparate between his Majeſty's Meaſures and this *Projector's*, while it is the Buſineſs of every *little* Scribler to hallow the Projector's Meaſures with the Name of his Majeſty's. I can remember how publickly the Projector boaſted, that the Scheme was his own, and challenged all the Honour of it, if it ſhould pleaſe, as he ſaid he was certain it would; and ſubmitted to ſuffer all the Diſhonour and Diſgrace, in caſe it ſhould not. After this, to call theſe *Supporters* of his Majeſty, who ſupported the Projector in promoting the Bill, to deny him and him alone all the Diſhonour, *&c.* of his own moving, that the ſame Bill, he had ſo much magnified, ſhould be dropt, and to transfer any the leaſt Part of the *Odium* of it to his Majeſty, I take to be monſtrous, and a *ſtronger Evidence* of Diſaffection to his Perſon and Government, a Thouſand Times,

Times, than any Thing that can be charged upon the Projector's Opponents.

The Author ſays, *The Parliament agreed to let the Bill drop, and now where is the Injury done to our Country, and why is this Ferment kept up!* — If a Gentleman ſhould lift a Cane, aiming it at this impartial Man's wiſe Pate, altho another ſtanding by ſhould perſwade the Gentleman to drop it, and not to lay him on, would this dear impartial Creature judge ſo in his own Cauſe? Would not he, if he is not what the World calls a Coward, endeavour to bring the Offerer of ſuch an Affront to give him Satisfaction? And would he not *continue in a Ferment till he got it?* Would he not alledge, that it was an Injury ſo great, that he could not poſſibly make it up, and that nothing leſs than a moſt publick Satisfaction could repair his Honour? — Now, unleſs it is this impartial Gentleman's Opinion, that an Affront, an Injury done to the whole Nation, ſhould be put up as a Thing of leſs Conſequence, and ought leſs to be conſidered, in Point of Reparation, than ſuch an Affront done to a private Man, why ſhould he be ſurpriſed that the Ferment continues? — Is the Nation quite out of Hazard of the Projector's *finding*

yet

yet a Time when his favorite Scheme ſhall be made *to appear agreeable, yea, even to be wiſhed for?* Is his Power yet leſs? If that continues, muſt we not ſtill *fear* while we *underſtand* our infinite Danger? Muſt we lay down our lawful Weapons of Defence againſt an Invaſion of our Liberties, while our Enemy has his ſtill in his Hands, and is ſo far from ſaying he is ſorry for what he has done, that, both by himſelf, and his Agents, Friends and Writers, he tells us, he not only meant us well, but will force us, ſome Time or other, to think ſo; and that we are Ideots, who do not underſtand our own Intereſts; and that we are diſaffected, Jacobites, and what not, becauſe we pretend to take ill Uſage ill? — This were to act againſt all human Prudence, and even againſt human Nature itſelf.

The Author asks, *Why muſt thoſe Gentlemen who were diſpoſed to examine that Project* (the Exciſe) *be accounted the Betrayers of their Country's Liberties?* This is one great Inſtance of the Author's *Impartiality.* He calls thoſe who were for the Bill, *Examiners of that Project.* But there follows immediately, *Page* 24. yet a ſtronger Inſtance of it. Notice only how he ſtates the Difference between theſe that diſagreed in their Opinion as to the Bill,

Bill, and you ſhall preſently obſerve how flatly he contradicts himſelf, and how very unfairly he puts the Caſe. —— "*One* "thought the Frauds, committed in the "Duties on Tobacco and Wine, could not "be remedied but by putting theſe Du- "ties under an Exciſe, and that it might "be done with Safety. *Another thought* "*it better the Frauds ſhould remain, than* "*to cure them by an Exciſe*; but ſurely, "this Difference of Opinion makes neither "of them neceſſarily Enemies to their "Country. They both might mean it well. "But he that *from thence* concludes, that "either of them meant it ill, is an Enemy "to human Kind," *&c.* Now, in the firſt Place, were not they proper Perſons to *examine* the Project, who were of Opinion, that the Frauds in the Duties upon Tobacco and Wine could not be remedied, but by putting theſe Duties under an Exciſe, and therefore were for the Project as it ſtood? —— Thou art a deep conſiſtent Reaſoner! If there had been no others to examine it, we eaſily may judge what had become of the Bill. It had been *fatally*, for the Nation, *enacted*. —— 2*dly*. The Gentleman's Charity goes ſo far here, that tho, throughout the whole of the Paper, he avers, that the Enemies of the Bill did, and

and do, all out of a View of Diſaffection, yet, here, he ſuppoſes they might *mean well.* It is true, they have this Favour ſhewn them for the Sake of the Friends to the Bill, and to clear them of the Imputation of being *Enemies to their Country*; to ſuppoſe which, his Charity carries him ſo far, as to declare them Enemies to human Kind, who believe either of them meant ill in what they did. How then comes he to take upon him to ſay, *that the Opponents thought it better the Frauds ſhould remain*, than to cure them by an Exciſe; which he admits they might oppoſe, and yet mean well. The plain Meaning of this is, they were againſt the Exciſe Bill, tho it was good, and for continuing the Frauds, out of Diſaffection, or ſome other deviliſh End, and becauſe they were evil. — It is ſubmitted to any impartial Man, what Regard this Gentleman has to any one of human Kind not of his own Way of Thinking, and with what vaſt Partiality he ſtates the Caſe, with a manifeſt Intention to make ſomething ſtick to thoſe from whom he differs. —— He ought to have remembred, that thoſe who oppoſed the Bill, no ſooner ſaw the Fate of it, than they, when it was propoſed theſe Frauds ſhould be enquired into, moved, that the Committee to enquire

ſhould

ſhould be choſen by Ballot. He might have remembred what infinite Weight was laid, and Pains taken, upon carrying that Queſtion; what *extraordinary* Methods were uſed, and Circumſtances attended the carrying it the Projector's Way, at the *Cock-Pit* and *Elſewhere*; and that not one of the Oppoſers of the Bill was named by the Ballot, when it came out; and whether this happened to *cover* or *detect* Frauds, (which perhaps it was ſome Body's Buſineſs better to have prevented, ſo as not to render even the Pretence of ſo violent a Cure, as the Exciſe, neceſſary) is obvious to the meaneſt Capacity. The Oppoſers were not in Power, and therefore were not able to check the growing Frauds, nor, conſequently, the Progreſſion of them could have reflected no Diſgrace upon them: For that very Reaſon it was very probable they had enquired moſt diligently: But then, for that very ſame Reaſon, they were not to be truſted with the Enquiry. That muſt have brought in the Pretender, and what not, tho I muſt own I cannot ſee the Connection.

It would be endleſs to refute every erroneous Paſſage of this Piece. I ſhall only ſay a Word to one or two more. He ſays, Page 21. *The Nation has been perſwaded*

to

to believe, that a general Excise was intended, than which nothing is more false, &c. —— It is answered, 1*st*. The Symptoms were strong that such was the Intention; the Progression that Way, under the same Projector, has been great; even a heavy Duty, once sunk, was revived, one would think, for no other End. 2*dly*. It is quite immaterial, whether it was so intended or not; for, to say Truth, after excising Tobacco and Wine, little that was worth excising remained to be excised. But if our Liberty was once destroy'd, a bold *Projector* might have excised the Air and Water if he had pleased. And this calls to my Remembrance a Passage in one of the Speeches of a very great Man, the Duke of *Buckingham*, where speaking, if I rightly remember, of the Danger the Liberties of the Subject were then said to be in, he says, to this Purpose, For his Part, he could not apprehend how any Man could think that the Liberty of the People was, or could be brought into Danger, but by a *general Excise*. Here is the Opinion of a very great Man, spoken at a great Distance of Time, plainly affirming, that Liberty was inconsistent with a *general Excise*, which is wisely enough denied to have been intended, contrary to all the plainest

plaineſt Appearances. However, this much is infallibly true, that, if a *general Exciſe* muſt deſtroy our Liberty, the more general Exciſes are made, the more it muſt be in Hazard; and this, without begging any Thing in queſtion, is ſurely enough for my Argument.

HAVING ſaid ſo much in Anſwer to this dangerouſly meant Pamphlet, I muſt beg Leave to notice his Concluſion, which conſiſts of two Things. *Firſt*. A Warning to our Countrymen, to elect Men faithful to the preſent Eſtabliſhment; *If that is done*, ſays he, *I ſhall be little ſolicitous for their Perſons*, &c. Page 26. *2dly*. A Recapitulation of the Charge againſt the Oppoſers of the Exciſe-Scheme.

I AGREE with him in the firſt of theſe Particulars, with one Amendment, *to wit*, inſtead of *preſent Eſtabliſhment*, to read, *preſent Conſtitution*. I am ſorry the Author has omitted that Word here: But there may be a great Difference between our *Conſtitution* (which, being ſettled by Law, is ſuppoſed to be our *preſent Conſtitution*, that Law neither being repeal'd, nor repealable without quite deſtroying us and it) and our preſent *Eſtabliſhment*, which may be altered without any ſuch bad Conſequence; for whether one Man

 or

or another (abſtractly ſpeaking) is upon our preſent Eſtabliſhment, is quite immaterial. I think therefore the Word *Conſtitution* more Canonical.

THE Author thinks, however, the Exciſe-Scheme no *Criterion* of their Merits. —— Here I incline to differ, and cannot accept even of an Apology made for one who has been in a Miſtake but in a ſingle Inſtance, which, as of itſelf it was ſufficient to ruin our Liberties, is a ſufficient Argument to chooſe another in his Place. Nor can I admit the Objection againſt doing ſo, that it would be *Infatuation to renounce, without Diſtinction, a Body of Men who are the known Supporters of our King, in favour of others who have no Experience in legiſlative Affairs*! For, beſides that this Gentleman ſeems to be a moſt incompetent Judge of the Abilities of thoſe he writes againſt, and beſides, that is utterly falſe that they have no Experience in legiſlative Affairs, of which every one knows the contrary; it is no Argument, ſurely, to continue a Truſt with a Man, or Set of Men, *that they have abuſed it*, and yet a worſe Argument to truſt all of them, *that they are many*, and have had Practice and Skill enough in legiſlative Affairs, to chicane their Conſtituents out of their Senſes, firſt to

chooſe

choose them, and then out of their Liberties when chosen. I refer every Body to *Carus*'s Speech in the Review of the Excise-Scheme, *&c.* for a compleat Answer to such poor Stuff as this, and the honest *Englishman*'s Answer to him, and what is further said upon this Subject, to good Purpose, in other Papers.——I agree with the Author in what he says further in the same Page 26. *I would have their Merits, and Fitness to serve their Country, in that important Trust, be judged of by their known Affection to the Royal Family, their Concern for the publick Tranquillity, and where it can be discerned by their Regard to Religion.* And here we need only Inquire, By whose Management the publick Tranquillity, both at Home and Abroad, has been brought into Danger? Whether the Proposer of a bad and ruinous Scheme, and those that concurred with it, or others who opposed and declared against it, ought to be most trusted? Whether he that proposed this Scheme has broke the publick Tranquillity, or those who most honourably and boldly opposed it? And if Freeholders take the Trouble to enquire into these Things calmly and impartially, I am not afraid how they will determine their Choice. I am loth to swell this Pa-

per

per, by adding, that it were not unfit to enquire, who has been the Adviſer of our foreign Treaties? How we have happened to be in a State, in point of Expence, differing in nothing from War, but in the Name of Peace, for theſe laſt ten Years? How our Trade has been decreaſing for the ſame Number of Years, and under whoſe Inſpection? How our Navy has come under ſuch unſufferable Debt, when ſo largely provided for yearly by Parliaments, and many other Things that may be uſeful to determine their Choice.——I ſhall conclude, as near as I can, in the Words and Method of our *impartial Author*, with only a few very neceſſary but juſt Variations.

'You have here the Thoughts of an *honeſt* Man, in Anſwer to thoſe of a moſt '*biaſſed partial Man*, who, diſguiſed under 'a falſe Name, writes in the moſt ſanguine 'Terms for his Party. I own honeſtly I 'favour the Country Party, becauſe I 'think them in the Right; they and I 'here are Friends to the Government, be-'cauſe it protects not only us, but all the 'the People. We love the Conſtitution, 'becauſe it is the beſt under Heaven, and 'therefore cannot bear to ſee it undone by 'any Projector of its Ruin; *we do now*

'*love*

'*love* our Country, becauſe we hope it
'underſtands its Happineſs ſo well, and is
'ſo content to enjoy it, that it cannot
'bear the Thoughts of loſing it. But, if
'an honeſt Endeavour to uſe an allow'd
'Defence of a Right, even of our Liberty,
'when attacked by one who projects to
'maintain his Power by Exciſe-Schemes,
'is to paſs for his Loyalty; if Corrup-
'tion, to carry on Projects, is to get
'the better of Honeſty, and *that Ambiti-*
'*on, which knows no other due Subſer-*
'*viency, but blind Obedience out of a*
'*Principle of Fear*, is to be the Rule to
'judge of due Subſerviency; if all Ties
'and Obligations between Prince and Sub-
'jects, are to be diſſolved; if the Govern'd
'are to have Law given them by a Projec-
'tor, not in the Parliamentary Shape, ſo
'that the Reſpect due to Parliaments ſhall
'be withdrawn; if they may not *ſuſpect*,
'nay, even be *convinced*, *when they ſee*
'(for then *Suſpicion* ceaſes) that their Li-
'berties are manifeſtly attacked by him;
'if they are not allow'd to wiſh well to,
'and to ſerve their Friends, and eſteem
'and deal with their Enemies as ſuch; if
'the Nation can be perſwaded to deſpiſe
'their Liberty, one of the chief Bleſſings
'that flow from a limited Monarchy, and
'bear

'bear, that a Projector ſhould ſtrengthen
'his Hands, by dividing the true Friends
'of the Conſtitution by falſe Suggeſtions,
'and deluding them to concur in his
'Schemes, and even by employing Jaco-
'bites againſt its true Friends, where that
'is for his Purpoſe; if my Countrymen
'are ſo blind, as not to ſee, that all this
'muſt end in the extinguiſhing the leaſt
'Spark of Liberty, and in putting all
'into Anarchy and Confuſion, whereby
'the common Enemy of us all may profit,
'to the Loſs, perhaps, of both our Reli-
'gion and Liberty; What remains, but
'that every Man who has the Proteſtant
'Religion at Heart, who knows the juſt
'Value of Liberty, and delights in the
'ſure and peaceable Enjoyment of it; who
'has any Concern for his Property, his
'Family, his Friends, and, which is above
'all, his Country, and his Oaths; What
'remains, I ſay, but that all ſuch ſhould
'faithfully adhere to their King and Coun-
'try, and to the Conſtitution, and defend
'them every Manner of Way to the out-
'moſt of their Power? What *Britons* are
'in Poſſeſſion of, is too valuable to be loſt
'by a careleſs Indifference; and the Miſ-
'chiefs to be apprehended too great, to be
'thought of without Horror: And what
more

more proper Way can they take, than to choose Men for their Representatives, who have the Honour, Interest and Dignity of the Crown, and the Liberty, Property and Interest of the Subject, equally secured by our Constitution, equally at Heart. Interests inseparable indeed! And such Men, it is to be hoped, are to be found without great Difficulty.

I shall only add one Observation upon our Author's Text, which is shortly this. If a certain Man had left off Contention, before it had been meddled with, the present Strife had not been begun; and if the *impartial Man* had done as he ought to have done, he had taken the Beam out of his own Eye before he had desired his Brother to take the Mote out of his.

If the Blind lead the Blind, both shall fall into the Ditch.

Who can bring a clean Thing out of an unclean.

Make our Rulers Peace, and our Exactors Righteousness.

Moreover, thou shalt provide out of all the People, able Men, such as fear God, Men of Truth, hating Covetousness, and place such over them. Exodus, Chap. xviii. Verse 21.

FINIS.